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COMPETITION of Ideas and Ideologies

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The competition for men's minds between differing economic, social, and political philosophies was an important part of the 53rd Annual Meeting program.

This section of the Proceedings contains reprints of those speeches which dealt with competing ideas and ideologies.



CHARLES VETTER
U. S. Information Agency

"People should be educated in a simple language on the need of the profit system. I think that the nasty reference to the word 'profit' has to be taken out, or you will be working for nothing, or less than you are now." (Page 27)

"The best anti-Communism is making the truth catch up with Communist distortions, Communist falsehoods, and Communist lack of payoff on their promises; but this must be combined with a positive alternative from the Free World for human problems or else we are not going to capture the imaginations of people." (Page 13)



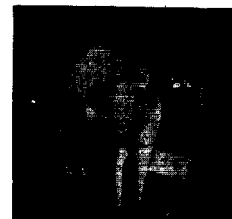
TOM CAMPBELL
The Iron Age



ROBERT J. HEGGIE, President
Steel Service Center Institute

"Truly this is the key to our future. Cooperation — working together to build and expand a market for our goods and services. Competition — our own individual efforts to get just as much of this expanded market as our abilities and our energies permit." (Page 35)

"Higher standards of living come from higher standards of thinking. We are proving we have the thought for daring and for action. We have been challenged and we are responding." (Page 39)



ROBERT G. WELCH, President-elect
Steel Service Center
Institute

IDEAS and IDEOLOGIES

Introduction of Charles T. Vetter

Lecturer and Training Officer

United States Information Agency



*Mr. Vetter was introduced by Robert G. Welch,
SSCI President-elect*

It is now my privilege to introduce the speaker this morning, Mr. Charles T. Vetter. He is with the United States Information Agency. He was born in Columbus, Ohio, my current home state, and has lived in Detroit and New York. He attended Hamilton College in Clinton, New York, and received his A.B. Degree after his return from the Navy in 1946. Subsequently he attended the School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D. C., Georgetown University Law School, the Academy of International Law at The Hague, and received his LL.B. from National University Law School in 1959.

During World War II Mr. Vetter was a Naval Aviator, and served as an American Instructor and Liaison Officer with the French Naval Training Mission. He was awarded the French Naval Wings. He joined the Government in 1950 working as a Research Liaison Officer with the Department of State and after 1953 with the U. S. Information Agency.

In 1955-56 Mr. Vetter was assigned as an Advisor to the Director of Public Relations of the Government of East Pakistan and later as a USIS Lecturer. He is a lecturer in Political Science. He was a lecturer in West Pakistan, where I understand he met his very delightful wife.

Expert On Communications and Communism

On his return from Pakistan in 1956 he joined the Professional Training Staff of the U. S. Information Agency. Since that time he has been responsible for training in the field of International Communications and Communism. He is a regular lecturer at the State Department Foreign Service Institute, Military Assistance Institute, the Air War College, the School of International Service of American University, and other overseas orientation programs.

In 1959 he visited Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union on a 3-month assignment as Supervisor in training American guides at the American National Exhibition in Moscow. He just returned from a six weeks' lecture tour through the countries in Latin America. He is one of the outstanding authorities on this subject in the world. The title of his talk is "Competing Ideologies - Today's Challenge". It is a very great privilege to introduce Mr. Charles Vetter.



Competing Ideologies—Today's Challenge

Thank you very much, Bob, for that "obituary". It is very interesting that the theme for this meeting should be Competition, and that you have somebody from the Government talking about it. I think it is one of the most important elements in our society.

After living in the Soviet Union, I am more convinced than ever that the element of our real superiority in human terms, in moral terms, in intellectual terms, hinges on the kind of self-reliance, on the kind of self-competence of individual problem-solving capacity that comes from the competition of the free society.

One of the things that I remember most in dealing in this subject was a conversation that I had with some Hungarian refugees who had been here for a while, after having come out as Freedom Fighters. When they first got here, they were quite discomfited, because they had come from a society where so many of the decisions were made for them that they didn't have the basic capacity to compete until they understood what the problem was.

Incidentally, some of the personal histories of these Hungarians who have come here, indicate that they have been given the ability to think in concrete terms, but they haven't been given the ability to think in abstract terms. All of that thinking was done for them by the political authorities.

We Must Compete in Communications

Watching these people shift gears into a competitive society, and watching the success of most of these

people once they did shift gears, has been a very interesting and reassuring thing. But in our conversation of ideologies I think we are thinking about competition in the field of communications. Working with the U. S. Information Agency as I do, our job is communicating for this country in other countries of the world.

Most Americans don't know too much about this Agency, because all of our work is overseas. Now, it is a little easier for me to tell people where I work since Edward R. Murrow has become our new boss. He has been in the job over a year now, and I think he has found it quite a shift for himself to go from CBS to a worldwide network in 99 countries with 11,000 people in a slightly different wave length than he has been used to. I know when he first took this job the rumor went around that he was going to discontinue our world-wide short wave broadcast of the "Voice of America" and replace it instead with a

**"People know there is another way
of life from what they have, and
they are demanding movement, they
are demanding change."**

CHARLES T. VETTER
*Lecturer and Training Officer
U. S. Information Agency*

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world-wide system of smoke signals, but he hasn't done this yet!

I think we have learned something though about communication, and before we can look at ideologies I think we have to understand certain basic concepts of the problem of getting ideas through. I notice the ladies are having a session on the problems of communicating in effective inter-personal relationships. Many of you have gone through seminars yourselves on effective management, and I think one of the points all of our experience and education in this area brings out is that you can only communicate with another human being if your message falls within their area of experience.

Communications and Areas of Experience

The example I have is this. For instance, if I am speaking Russian and you are speaking English, if I say in Russian "automobile", you will understand that, because it is basically the same in English and in Russian; the same mental image comes up, the same message comes through, and there is communication for both people. If I say these words in Russian what would the English be? "Gazyeta", "Jhurral", "Plahn", "Klas", "Ooniversahlyn". I think you would get most of these, since they are basically the same for the Russian and the American.

If I should say in Russian "mahyazeen", I think most of the people in this room get a mental image of a periodical—"Time", "Life", "Reader's Digest", "Ladies Home Journal", "Fortune", "Playboy"—whatever you are reading right now. On the other hand, the Russian gets a completely different mental image. When you say "magazine", he gets a mental picture of a store. He gets a message, but neither one of us is communicating, because our experience is different, and there is no meeting of the minds.

You know, we have a program of cultural and information work in other countries. We have about 1,200 Americans in other countries working with us, but we have about 7,000 national employees in France, in Sweden, and in 99 other countries, who are working with this program to increase international understanding.

We have a program to bring about 50 of these people to the United States so they may visit and learn about our American free enterprise system, American homes, and American communities. Often, after they have worked for the American Government for 15 or 20 years, it is amazing to see how their attitudes and their perceptions about this country change.

What Does "Homely" Mean?

But a friend of mine from Pakistan came on this program not too long ago, and his name was Nural Islam. He was on Cloud 9, because he had just been married. He said, "My bride is so wonderful. Her father is rich, she is educated, she loves me very much, she is very homely, and very interested in my work."

And I said, "Nural, I am delighted you have finally

gotten hooked—married. But didn't you marry a pretty girl? You are a good-looking guy. I know you have to make compromises to marry a rich girl." He showed me a picture, and she was beautiful. I said, "She is lovely. You told me she is homely."

He said, "Yes, she is homely; she likes to cook and work around the house." I said, "You better not go around the United States telling the Americans your bride is 'homely' or they will think you married a dog." The he said, "Really?" Then, I had to explain the American idiom "marry a dog".

But, of course, what was happening was that he was using the British use of the word "homely" which is home-loving, whereas, our meaning is ugly. I had an experience stemming from telling this not too long ago. Recently, I have been working with the Peace Corps. I will be very frank with you. When I first heard of this idea of the Peace Corps I was scared. What we need like a hole in the head is a bunch of naive do-gooders wandering around the world! But I will be frank with you, I have been pretty much converted. Maybe they subverted me. They have asked me to participate in the training program, and I have had training program sessions with 13 of the groups that have gone out.

We Have Communications Gap Overseas

I think the reason I have changed my opinion is partly from my observations on this recent 9-nation trip to Latin America: We have a whole segment in the pattern of American interest and activities overseas where we have a gap as far as communicating with people. I think that this Peace Corps is sending young people out to reflect a commitment and an interest on the human level to areas where they have real contact with things from this country, from our civilization, from our hearts, which is a very important contribution.

The thing that has allayed some of my original fears is the care in choosing the country, the criteria for choosing the specific project, the high standards for choosing the individual volunteers and then the training program that they are giving them before they send them overseas.

I was at Michigan State in East Lansing with a group going to Nigeria. After I was finished, a young Nigerian chap who was sitting through their training program with them came up to me. He said, "Mr. Vetter, you have given me such an insight into your country." I said, "I am delighted. What do you mean?" He said, "I have received so much hospitality, and this has been such a wonderful thing for me to get in and see the heart of your country. When I leave the home where I have been staying, I would say to the lady of the house, 'Thank you, dear lady, for your food and your hospitality and your kindness. I so very happy to be in the home of such a homely American woman.' And she didn't like it!" He was using "British English".

In this whole field of communicating, we have a problem of identifying the area where we can communicate. Something like this Institute gives you a

capacity for communicating within your industry that is invaluable. Every time you have a meeting like this you are stretching the area where you can communicate, you are stretching your own philosophies a little bit.

Overseas Americans Need More Training

We have found in sending Americans overseas that they have a need for a great deal more training. I know in my own Agency we have tripled our budget for language training and area training, so that when our people go to other countries they have the capacity to get their message through. This is not only for the purpose of delivering messages. You women in the audience know that some of your most effective and most important communications are patient, intelligent sympathetic listening to men, before you tell them what you want them to do! Seriously though, this in a sense is a great national problem. In our communications in other countries, I think it is so extremely important for Americans to be good listeners.

How To Be A Good Listener

First of all, you can't be a good listener until you get on the level of speech, on the level of communication with the people you are listening to. I think this is one of our real problems in the communications of people like this group. In December, I was with the National Association of Manufacturers in New York on the problem of communications with young people. Many times I find that the kind of things you are doing and the things you represent are the real sources of strength in this country. But, you are not getting this message down to young people. I think one of the main reasons is that you do not tend to listen to young people to find out what their wave length is.

Overseas, I think it is doubly important that the Americans have the knowledge of the people so they can answer and ask intelligent questions, let people blow off steam to them, lay a foundation for 2-way communication. By the same token, overseas people aren't so keen for American propaganda.

One of the interesting things I found on the trip to Latin America, was that many of the wives in the business community and the American professional community were conducting non-government English conversation classes, participating in English language groups, spreading this area of communication not only for speaking the language but for inter-personal relationships that have real meaning and had real human significance.

American Movies of Mixed Value

Right now, however, in the world there is a tremendous amount of static, particularly about the North American or the United States' effort to communicate with the other people of the world. A lot of this is coming from things like American commercial movies, which in many cases give people a stereotyped picture of America as a great wealthy country, a country of beautiful women where nobody does any work, a



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country where there is a great deal of violence or perhaps immorality. These movies also are causing economic and social revolutions, by stimulating people to new activities, new ambition, new thought, new horizons.

How many of you here have read "The Ugly American"? It is almost a textbook. Do you think this has helped us or hurt us? I think for the people that have read it, it has helped. I think for many of the people who just use the term "Ugly American" without reading the book it might not have been too constructive. But the message of the book, is that overseas activities of this nation are vital to our future, but they have to be done well. As a matter of fact, it identifies some real problems we have in our dealings overseas.

We found out from intelligence reports that the British Embassy and the Russian Embassy in Burma were making this book required reading for their staffs to give them leverage over the Americans in Burma and also because some of their staffs were making the same kind of mistakes as were the Americans.

The Problem of Overseas Housing

But large American communities overseas tend to become islands of privilege. This is partly because of the fact that in many societies there is either very good housing or very bad housing. Americans going overseas to work have to find housing for their families. So, Americans and other foreign diplomats and foreign residents tend to go to the better housing.

You come to Washington, D. C., and who is it that has much of the best housing? It is foreign diplomats, and at 7:00 o'clock you will find islands created of Spanish-speaking people, French-speaking people, Dutch-speaking people, and German-speaking people, because at the end of a hard day they go back home.

One of the things we are looking at here this morning is the fact that in the field of ideas, in the field of communications, we are in competition with the Communists, who are not only trying to distort our

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message but set up their own frame of reference so that their message goes through and our message is filtered out.

Let us look for a moment at the questions I get from so many students in this country, so many teachers and parents: "What are the Communists saying to people that is appealing to them? What is their bill of goods? What is the thing that they are offering people that makes Latin American students and African businessmen turn to Communism for involvement, for hope, for participation?" It will help us see what some of the appeals are; it will help us read Communist propaganda, much of which gets into our own media of communication through their clever use of a free press. This will give us a better concept of the kind of alternatives that we have to present.

The Best Kind of Anti-Communism

I, personally, believe that the best anti-Communism is not just being anti-Communist. The best anti-Communism is making the truth catch up with Communist distortions, Communist falsehoods, and Communist lack of pay-off on their promises. But, this must be combined with a positive alternative from the free world for human problems, or else we are not going to capture the imagination of people.

How A Communist Thinks

As a matter of curiosity, how many of you in this room have ever had a personal talk with an avowed Communist? Not very many. Have they been nasty to you individually? I think that to most of us who have had personal dealings with Communists, their attitude as individuals is basically, "You are a nice guy, but you just haven't gotten the word. You are a

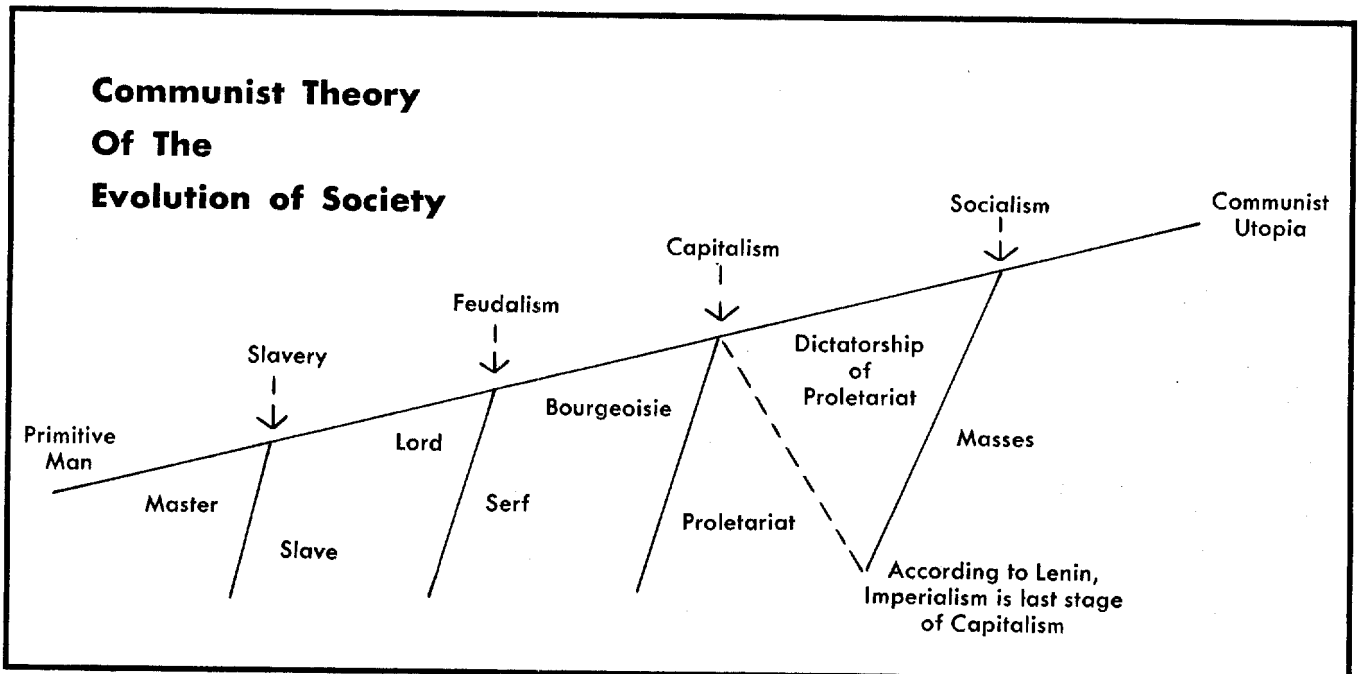
nice individual, but you are a product of a decadent society, and you haven't had your eyes opened to the way life really works. We have had the revelation, because we have the objective political science from Mr. Marx and Mr. Lenin that has shown us how scientifically and inevitably life develops on an upward pattern.

"Life goes through cycles of development, and we understand these cycles. Consequently, we can understand what has happened in the past, what is happening now, and what is going to happen. We have been shown by Mr. Marx that the first stage of society is the primitive society, but this is very inefficient, for the primitive society introduced weapons and tools. You begin to see society splitting between the have's and have-not's, of power splitting into classes which are in a state of warfare or conflict with each other, and the first stage of society is SLAVERY, and the first two classes are master and slave."

Marx said that as society develops it gets more sophisticated. Many of these slaves get limited rights; they become serfs. Many of the masters who survive emerge with larger power, larger domains, and become the minor kings or landowning aristocracy, the lords, in the second stage of society, which is FEUDALISM. According to Mr. Marx, society is introduced to a new element, money. You begin to see at this stage of development the beginning of mercantilism, the beginning of trade, and the growth of large cities, and the beginning of industrialization.

More From Karl Marx

Many of these serfs get their independence, go into the cities and become what? Workers, laborers. In their terminology what are workers and laborers? The proletariat. They become the workers or the proletarians. The lesser lords go into the cities with artisans, and



free men. They become the men of money, the merchants, bazaar keepers, capitalists or industrialists or the bourgeoisie. And when the bourgeoisie or the men of money take over the money of society you come into the next stage of society, which is what? CAPITALISM.

Who is going to win this struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat according to Marx? They say the proletariat. And when they take over the power of the state, you come into the next stage of society according to Marx, which is what? Not Communism but SOCIALISM. In their own terminology the dictatorship of the proletariat takes over the power of the state to educate the masses out of their capitalist degeneracy. It takes over the state to educate the masses to increase productivity to the point where the masses meet their needs and bring them up politically, socially, spiritually, and morally, and when they are so educated you come into the final stage of society, which is COMMUNISM.

Marx Looked At 1850 Capitalism

Now, we have to do something to bring this do-it-yourself chart up to date the way Mr. Lenin did. Where was Marx looking at Capitalism and when? Where was he writing his analysis? Most of it was written in England. You remember he was kicked out of Germany in 1849 after the publication of the Communist Manifesto. He went to Brussels, then he went to England, where in the 1850's and 1860's and 1870's, and until his death in London in 1883, he was looking at Western European and British Capitalism.

When I was in Pakistan I could elicit the Communist slogans from most of the students, many of them in missionary school—not because they were Communist, but because this was the language of the textbooks. The British Labor Party after World War II brought in books by Beatrice and Sidney Webb, Harold Lasky, and the London School of Economics. This was the material that was being studied in the college faculties of Economics, Political Science, and Law.

Communist Theory Used as Basis for Questions

Why is it important that we understand this terminology, this sequence in projection? Because if we don't understand it, particularly when we go overseas, we are not able to understand many of the sincere questions people are asking us who are using this language as the basis for their questions.

I found also these Pakistan students were reading Communist literature from India, and it was going through the student body like pornography or forbidden literature.

When they read it, it made sense to them, because, unfortunately for us, the local capitalist, the local businessmen, the local merchants in Pakistan today, in the majority, are much closer to the capitalist in England in 1870 than to anybody in England, United States or Western Europe today.

Consequently, when they read this material it cor-



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responds with many of the valid criticisms Marx was making for that time. You know Marx was a newspaperman and a pretty good one. Many of his analyses had a great deal of validity for that time. He was a lousy predictor but much of his observation and analysis was helpful for people understanding their society at that time.

Modern Capitalism Is Not Understood

Consequently, when these Pakistanis read this propaganda it corresponds and falls in within their area of experience. They have never experienced Capitalism as it operates in this country or in the developed Free World democracy. So, one of our problems in Pakistan, and this is exactly the same thing that is happening in Latin America, and in developing countries all over the world, is that the whole picture of Capitalism is an unfavorable one when compared with Marxism, partly because they have never experienced modern Capitalism. One of our problems was to understand the question so we could really bring out the evidence from free world society that would answer their questions.

Our Solutions More Revolutionary Than Marx

My basic contention is that our solutions to the criticisms Marx made are much more revolutionary than any Communist, Socialist, Fascist, Anarchist, or welfare state in the world. The same things Marx said were evil we have recognized and done much more to correct, but the fact is that in this terminology the people are expressing their hopes, their fears, their complaints, and we have got to understand this, because this is the language they are using.

Lenin Guessed Wrong On Europe

Now, to bring this up to date, as I said, we have got to do what Lenin did. Where did Marx predict the it would come first in Germany and England where revolution would come first? In Russia? No, he thought there was industrialization, where he predicted the



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Vetter

capitalists would sit on the masses, exploit them, force the standard of living down and down and down until finally the masses would revolt. But what was happening to the standard of living in Europe at the turn of the century? Was it going down the way Marx predicted for the people? No, it was going up.

Lenin's Explanation of Marx's Mistakes

So, to explain this, Lenin said, "Those clever Capitalists have found a way of delaying the revolution." How? They have gone out and gotten colonies, and they are sucking the blood from other countries, bringing the wealth back to Europe, artificially raising the standard of living in Europe and delaying the inevitable revolution. Lenin said that the last stage of Capitalism is like a wounded tiger about to die, that Capitalism is most dangerous and lethal just before its collapse. In what he called the last stage of Capitalism is the dirtiest word in their vocabulary—Mr. Castro uses this all the time—"IMPERIALISM", the last stage of capitalism, and what goes with imperialism? Colonialism. Who is the biggest and the best imperialist according to the Communists today? The United States. And what kind are we? Dirty? Speak for yourself. We are "economic imperialists."

Communist Propaganda and Underdeveloped Nations

They say we give complicated machinery to developing nations — jet airplanes — so they will have to come to us for parts, technicians, gasoline. We give aid with strings attached so we can pull in the strings and exploit society, and this is our modern economic imperialism. They include in here the assistance programs, Alliance for Progress, Peace Corps, military assistance and mutual security. That is how the Communist propaganda treats that.

The One-Word Communist Slogan

When you look at something like this you see the importance of language. What is the one-word slogan the Communists use all over the world? Just one word. What do they have people striving for? Peace. Peace. Everywhere you go they are yelling for peace. Everywhere you go the Communists want peace so much they are willing to fight for it.

What is our definition of peace? In general terms it is absence of warfare between nations. The laws of peace and the laws of war are two different things. We remember from World War II that a G.I. in Germany might be "liberating", "De-Nazifying", "requisitioning", "protecting", "defending", "scrounging". That same action in time of peace would be

murder, mayhem, assault, burglary, misappropriation of property, embezzlement, a whole series of crimes that are justified by the laws of war. Are we governed internationally by the laws of peace or war? We are held very strictly to the laws of peace.

The Communist Definition of Peace

What is the Communist definition of peace? Is it the same as ours? How do they define peace? By implication this is world-wide Communism, but their more objective definition is that peace comes only when there is an absence of contradiction on a world-wide basis, when there is an absence of conflict and warfare. What kind of warfare? An absence of *class* warfare. Is today a peace or war situation for the Communists? Right now they consider themselves in a conflict, and I think this is one of their tactical advantages.

How Do The Communists Use This Philosophy?

They use it as a yardstick to answer the question everyone has in their hearts: How am I doing? They use it to help people place themselves in history. Who do they say is going farthest along the path of building Communism? They say they, the Russians, have passed Socialism and are now building Communism. China is on the road of Socialist destruction because they don't have enough industrialization, and they still have more than one political party on the books in China. This is a hangover of class warfare, and, so, China, economically and politically, is building Socialism.

Where would they put Hungary, Rumania, Poland on this? They say they have economic development, industrialization, but they are still peoples' democracies with more than one party but they are snuggling up on Communism. I have never found a translation in Spanish for "snuggling". In July of 1960, Czechoslovakia became a second Socialism link, the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic. More important for us, where do they put Ghana, New Guinea, Vietnam, Korea, Malaya, the Philippines, Syria, Egypt, Morocco? In Feudalism? Just emerging from Feudalism. These are all former colonies that they say have just had their revolution of national liberation, and they are just emerging.

Can you basically change this pattern of development according to the Communists? No. They say it is scientifically inevitable. If you listen to the guys that have the word in political science, they say, you can skip over the worst aspects of Capitalism and into the higher social and economic stage of Socialism, if you follow the right leadership, and this is one of their world-wide appeals, "We can help you catch up with history."

How Americans React to Propaganda

Now, when you look at something like this when you are Americans, especially right after a breakfast, like this, I think the reaction is, "Words, words, words. We are doing, and they are talking." And I think the average reaction in the United States is: "We have

produced for our people what they are just talking about and dreaming about." After living in the Soviet Union in 1959, I am more convinced than ever that not only have we achieved the reforms that Marx was calling for way beyond the expectation of Marx, but we have a more classless society, more economic and social justice for the masses of our people, more opportunity than they promised or have achieved in any Communist or Socialist country.

I used to tell this to my Pakistani friends: "What are you paying so much attention to all this material for? We have today what they are striving for." They had seen American movies. They knew we had a high standard of living. They would say to me in effect, "How can I get to the United States? I don't want to stay in this country." I am being a little facetious, and I have a great admiration for Pakistan, and some of the things that are happening there are really magnificent.

A World-Wide Communications Revolution

But the fact is there has been a revolution in communications all over the world. People know there is another way of life from what they have, and they are demanding movement, they are demanding change. They are demanding how they can get from where they think they are to where they think we are in terms they or their children can realize. If they can't get hope and help from us, if they don't turn to us with some kind of confidence that we understand their problems and can assist, there is a tremendous temptation to turn this do-it-yourself chart for assistance and for guidance and for explanation, if it is presented. And it is being presented to them.

How Communism Appeals to Foreign Youth

Now, look at this for just a second. You have heard very frequently that the Communist approach is much like a religion. When you lay it out like this you see how much like a salvation religion this really is. For instance, it says to an Indian student, "Look, here is where you are in life today. Today you are just emerging into independence. You have gone through primitive slavery, and you are emerging from Feudalism."

It says to the Indian student, "Here is where you were in the immediate past when your British colonial masters were in control, but don't have a guilt complex. It is not your fault that you are underdeveloped, it is not your fault that you have been sitting on your assets for centuries and centuries. You have been manipulated and exploited and kept down. Now you have your independence, you are emerging, and here is the heaven of Communism and here is the devil of Imperialism."

This is a very complicated world. Young people love to talk; we all love to talk, and this is a pretty handy gimmick for helping people talk about the past with out doing too much homework. Without having any guilt complex, analyze the present, predict the future, inveigh against evil, idealize. You know this is a gimmick. This is a lousy description of the American



"Do we have an American doctrine that we can take out and market in the market place of ideals in the world? The miracle and sophistication of our society is that we don't have one doctrine or one ideology."

experience, no provision for the middle class, no provision for the tremendous variety of forces that are constantly interacting, competing.

But you know this brings us to another very important problem. Many people say to me, "What is wrong with you people in the United States Information Agency? Why haven't you sold American democracy overseas?" Now, this is their proposition, their ideology, their doctrine, their package, as it were. It can be put very simply to teenagers or it can be put in volumes of analysis, and this is the key idea of dialectical materialism.

Do We Have an American Ideology?

Do we have an American ideology, an American doctrine that we can take out and market in the market place of ideals in the world? Does anybody think we do have one that everyone here in this room would agree to? My experience is this: If we ever have a simplified statement of our multiple, pluralistic, complicated free society and have any authority who says this is the word, we either will not have the society we have today, or we will be at war, where we are forced to coalesce under a discipline situation for certain given purposes.

In times of peace we have 180,000,000 people expropriating freedom to develop their own lives, their own families, their own communities, and everybody has a little different slice of the cake. Everybody has a little different version of what truth and democracy and freedom are, and when you ask them they will say it differently.

What Is The Image of The United States?

You know in Government, policy seems to be pretty important. We tried to send out a policy guidance to our cultural officers to give them some idea of what the image of the United States is that we are projecting. You know, that thing went through five and a half months of debate, draft and redraft, and it

was just like trying to get By-laws together, and you know what that is in an organization like your own. It went through 13 different drafts. The thing that finally came out was lousy. I think many of you have heard the definition of a camel: a camel is a horse put together by a committee. This was a "camel" of a document, because when you get Americans to talk about themselves they don't agree, and, so, what comes out is a compromise that is just sort of a mishmash.

Our Advantage Is Many Ideologies

Instead of losing confidence, instead of feeling that we should have some simplified statement like this, we have to see that the miracle and the sophistication of our society is that we don't have one doctrine or one ideology. We have plenty of ideology in our society. You find it in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, our fabulous system of laws, charters of organizations like this, the great religions that are practiced in our society. This is a tremendous ideological inheritance, but we don't have one version of it, thank goodness.

We have many ideologies, many religions, many political thoughts, conflicting ideas, different groups, interacting individuals fighting, competing, interacting, and the miracle of our society is because of the system of laws, the ground rules, the society is basically peaceful with all of this conflict and fantastically productive beyond the experience of any dictatorship whether it is a Communist dictatorship or a dictatorship in the other political direction.

We Must Be Self-Confident

Thus, the element of self-confidence is so very important. Our society is producing while they are talking. Many Americans are losing self-confidence, because they are being outtalked and don't know enough about their own society to be articulate about what our alternatives are.

I would like to share with you for just a couple of minutes a little experience that we had in the Soviet Union in 1959. In 1959, the Russians and the Americans exchanged national exhibitions. Did any of you see the exhibition that they had in New York in 1959? It was a pretty good show. We wondered why the Russians agreed to this, because they gave us access, and we eventually contacted in our exhibition two and a half million Soviet citizens from every walk of life, every part of the Soviet Union.

American Moscow Exhibit Built from Scratch

We felt that one of the reason they did it was that they doubted whether or not we could even get an exhibition open in five and a half months. They had an exhibition in Brussels in the World Fair in 1958. They painted it up and made a few additions, shipped it across the ocean to the Coliseum in New York City, and it was there that they had their exhibition for six weeks.

We, on the other hand, had to start from the very

beginning, because we had dismantled our 1958 exhibit. We had to start from the beginning to get four government agencies to talk to each other, to say nothing of working together, and 700 private organizations—corporations, artists, individuals—who contributed the great bulk of our exhibits. Most of our exhibits came from contributions from private industry and from private sources.

Well, when we got to Moscow we found another reason why the Russians agreed to this exhibit. How many of you in this room have ever been to Russia? Only three or four of you. Do you remember this huge, huge Soviet Exhibition of National Achievements? It has over 535 acres with over 200 permanent buildings with everything in it they think they have, they hope they have, they want to have, they do have.

Because of this, we had a little joke among the guides. Russians would come up to things in our exhibit and say in Russian with great self confidence, "We have got it." Also, "Ours is better," then... "What is it?" They figured they had it somewhere—whatever it was.

The 1959 Exhibit in Russia

As a matter of fact, we had quite a debate about this: What do you put into an exhibition? What do you put into an exhibition to get Russians to think, to perceive? So, we had quite a debate. And I think very frankly the Russian reaction to our exhibition was one of disappointment. We had two buildings on ten acres to compare with that 500-acre exhibit. As a matter of fact, this was the funny part of the negotiations: We wanted to install some of the latest public rest facilities, and the Russians absolutely refused. Evidently they didn't want a confrontation on that level.

I think after they got into the exhibit and saw that it was not a great technological display or scientific display, but the product of our industry's technology, our culture, our education, then we implanted many, many images. I am personally convinced from what we found out that we forced the Soviet Government to introduce credit buying, installment buying. Some people wonder if we did the Russian people a favor. I am convinced we did, but basically, they have been forced to and they are using installment buying in the Soviet Union today for consumer durables.

Why Do We Make Toast?

In addition to this, I remember one exhibition section. You know that Soviet women do very, very hard work. As a part of our exhibit we had a large display of American home appliances, and these home appliances really made the women look. They were looking for this kind of help in their own lives. One section of this exhibit had these beautiful chrome boxes, and the Russians would come up and ask, "What is that?" And the guide would say, "That's a toaster." "So, what is a toaster?" "A machine for making toast." "So, what is toast?" "Well, this is bread that is cut in slices and browned on both sides and you put it

in the machine and take it out and eat it." "Don't you bake your bread in America?" "Yes, and we slice it and put it in this machine." "Why?" The guide didn't know why. I don't know why. Why do we eat toast? So, instead of thinking in great jealous terms, they thought we were darn fools for putting our productive energy into toast. The French, I think, feel the same way.

Guides Our Best Exhibit

But you know I am prejudiced. I think the best exhibit we had in Moscow were the 80 young American guides. They came from all over the United States, and we had quite a shock in the selection of these guides, because when we selected them in panels in San Francisco, in Chicago, and in Washington, on the basis of their knowledge of the Russian language, the Soviet Union, and the United States, their own country, we found out in selecting 75 out of 600 applicants that almost all of them knew more about the Soviet Union than they did about their own country, the United States!

You see, most of them, of course, were students of Soviet affairs, and they had boned up in order to take the tests. But we as North Americans don't have to explain ourselves to each other generally, and this is a skill like any other skill, and we are very sloppy as a nation. I see this day after day in participating in training programs for Americans going overseas. We aren't in the habit of explaining each other in other people's terms, and these guides were no exception.

Training Program Difficult

So, our problem was to train these guides and to give them the ability to understand the questions they were going to get and to anticipate some of the specific questions and do homework to get oral ammunition. Many of us in this room have a great deal of academic ammunition but in this field of ideology our school system doesn't teach us to generalize. We avoid ideologies except in specialties, and, so, generally our people don't like to talk in theoretical terms, and they are very uncomfortable in this kind of discussion. They don't have the capacity to bring up evidence that makes sense to other people.

Can You Explain Unemployment?

Now, let me give you an example. We were going to have a lot of questions on unemployment. You know the Russians see life through a micronite filter. They have a selective version of what truth and facts is. Certain facts, according to them, are pounded through at the people. For instance, just before we arrived in Moscow one of their magazines, "Krokodil", came out showing where some of the millions of questions came from on unemployment. This is a satirical Russian magazine somewhere between "Mad" and the "New Yorker". On the front of this magazine is a composite picture of American advertising for Cadillac, Coca Cola, Chesterfield cigarettes, chewing gum, Campbell Cream of Mushroom Soup, Tomato Catsup. In front of the advertising is a great hulk of a man in rags and



"In talking about this competition between freedom and Communism we often are not explicit about what freedom is."

on his back a sign in Russian that says, "Five Million Unemployed". And there is a little capitalist in the corner saying, "Will you please move on, Mr. Unemployed. You are spoiling the effect of my advertising."

The Statistics of Unemployment

This is what they were telling the Russian people. By American statistics over 5,000,000 people are unemployed, and with four in each family that is 20,000,000 starving. That is not the way we keep our statistics, but that is how they explained it. Then, by American statistics over 15,000,000 people work less than 15 hours a week. That is 35,000,000 plus their families. These millions and millions of Americans are living in a great cesspool without jobs, without dignity, without help, without hope.

"We in the Soviet Union," they say, "do not yet have all of these luxuries, but the Soviet Union doesn't have any unemployment. Therefore, our system is more humane, more advanced by Socialism." This is not only what they are telling the Russians; this is what they are saying all over the world.

Well now, our problems with these guides was that most of them had never been unemployed. There were 27 girls, and the rest of them were men, and they came from every source and every age. The age bracket was from 20 to 35. These guides had practically no capacity to talk about the subject of unemployment.

Statistics Stacked Against Us

The fact that our government has social security—the fact that we have unemployment compensation and that many of our people on compensation are making more than the average worker in the Soviet Union when he is working, the fact that our statistics are stacked against us in this field of ideas—if a man retires in this country and tries to get a job he is included in unemployment statistics—these things were not brought out.

In Europe when a man retires and tries to get a job, he is not unemployed. He is a pensioner or an

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annuitant and isn't even included in unemployment statistics. We have nine million people changing jobs every year in this country. When we have two and a half million people on our unemployed rolls this is full employment in our society, because in a free society you have that many people who refuse to work and are milking the system, or are new to the labor market, or are in legitimate transition.

We were trying to give these guides conversational ammunition. We didn't want them to argue; once you start arguing very little information passes from head to head; you know that as husbands and wives. We were trying to get them to carry on discussions, to get ideas and questions into people's minds.

Conversation Ammunition Needed

So, our second job was to help them do their homework to develop conversation ammunition to answer the Russians' questions and to get them thinking in a wider frame of reference. But in addition to understanding the questions, and preparing themselves, like you, most of them had never talked to a Communist. Most of them didn't know how the Communists were answering questions, how the Communists were responding to criticism, commenting on world affairs, and, if you will cooperate for just a couple of minutes, I would like to give you this opportunity, too, but also to demonstrate how we were teaching these people to be articulate in another society by showing them what they were up against. So, for the next couple of minutes let me be a Russian:

What A Russian Sounds Like

(At this point Mr. Vetter assumed the role of Alexander Petrovich Surov, a Russian visitor. He used a heavy Russian accent.)

I am working with the Soviet Ministry of Culture, and I have been in your wonderful country for the last 18 months working on exchange of exhibitions between our two great peoples. Now, I will tell you very strongly I have been very much warmed in my heart by the love by the American people for Soviet people that I have seen in your country over the last three visits I have been here. As representative of the Soviet people I bring to you all the love of the Soviet people for the American people. Please accept it, because you know this is a period when we must find ways to relax tension.

Peaceful Coexistence Is the Answer

Everyone in this room knows what the consequences might be of nuclear warfare which would mutually destroy the progress our countries have made these last years. We must find ways of building peaceful coexistence, and to do this we must stimulate peaceful competition. I am glad to see the whole purpose of this meeting is competition, because we must have peaceful competition in the field of science, in the field of technology, in the field of ideas, in the field of culture, in the field of sports.

I tell you very sincerely I have been very encouraged to see the love of the people, but I have been very much disturbed by the fact that your Government, and forgive me, your Press, is constantly agitating your people into war psychosis, war psychology, and this is very, very dangerous at the very time that we must have understanding between our people.

You know this exhibition I have been working on is very interesting and it is very important to get our people to know each other. You have had an excellent exhibition on plastics in the United States, and that was in Moscow and other Russian cities. We have had an exchange exhibition of Soviet children's books in Denver, Colorado, Cleveland, Ohio, and also in New York City; in Minneapolis, Minnesota and Chicago an exhibition on Soviet medicine. You have excellent exhibition on transportation in your country, in Kharkov Siberia and also in Stalingrad, I mean Volgograd, and these are very important activities.

So, I tell you very frankly I am very grateful to be here with you to submit myself to you for any questions in your hearts, in your minds, about my country, the Soviet Union, or about Communism, because we must understand each other better. We must have the human understanding to melt the snows of the cold war. So, I submit myself to you, and I will do my very best to answer you directly and personally.

QUESTION: Why do you suppress religion in Russia?

ANSWER: "I am asked this so often. Please come to Soviet Union and see Socialism in practice. We would like to have you come and visit the Russian churches. I would also be so happy. We have very inexpensive tours. We have expensive tours if you want expensive tours. But if you would like to visit some of the working churches or synagogues, feel free to do so. You will be protected by the law.

Where Russian Youth Finds the Truth

"I don't want to offend believers here, but this is a ridiculous idea of the West of our suppression of religion. If you come to these religious institutions, I will guarantee you will find very few young people. Because where are Soviet young people, looking for answers to Space, answers to Nature? They are not looking to religious legends and mythology. They are looking to science, astrospace, cosmic science, chemical science, physical science, political science, and this is where we are finding the truth.

"Now, you know in the Soviet Union we are crazy about pictures. You call them visual aids or posters. Can any of you here see this? Can you read the Russian language? Does anybody in the room read the Russian language? Out of all of your education eliteists not one person reads Russian! Too bad. This is educational deficiency. We have 700,000 Soviets studying the English language. We want to know. I am very surprised.

"All right, this says in Russian, 'All Praise to Soviet Science', and this is a picture of Gagarin, our

first Cosmonaut, and it says down here, 'All Praise to the Soviet Man who is first Cosmonaut', and, of course, Titov, who is in your country right now, he is going around 17 times to show it wasn't a big mistake. I tell you very frankly that we are very proud of this man who is demonstrating what socialist science, what socialist man can do in leading the way, not only to space, but in uplifting every field of human endeavor.

"Of course, we want to congratulate you for Mr. Grissom, Mr. Shepherd and Mr. Glenn. You know a Soviet woman, she had triplets a couple of months ago. She named first Yuri, and then second one Gherman, and the third child she named for man John Glenn. This baby was born a little late, but she named him John. Of course, we are very happy now because you do have an astronaut, and this is achievement, and we are happy you do have astronaut and not just two half astronauts."

QUESTION: If the Communist system is so successful, why is it that each Communist country cannot feed its people?

ANSWER: "This is slight inaccuracy. The Soviet Union is feeding its people and has surpluses in feeding. Sometimes we have some problems in distribution. Sometimes we have this in different sections. You know Mr. Khrushchev has been a little bit disappointed. Very high goals have been set for agriculture under seven year plan. Unfortunately, after the war we had to make up for this fantastic destruction we had; we had to set priorities on what we call initial investment. We invested most heavily in heavy industry, as you know. So, we were not able to put quality of investment into field of agriculture, and consumer goods.

"So, productivity has been disappointing, but you know we have done fantastic things in the field of agriculture; agriculture science is opening up of the virgin territories—nothing to do with young ladies—this is all new land in Siberia, and we have made very real progress. So, this statement is not accurate. We have surplus, other countries have surplus, but this, again, is part of this mis-information which I read in your periodicals."

QUESTION: If you are so peace-loving, why do you continue testing nuclear bombs?

ANSWER: "We are not continuing. You know the two questions I get most from American audience in recent weeks is this question, and the question, Why did you build the Wall? First of all, we didn't build the wall; the Germans built the wall. The answer to this question is something you must understand in understanding Soviet people.

Russian People Hate War

"You know, we actually hate war; this is not just a big slogan. Why do we hate war? We have had 15 million people killed in The Great Patriotic War you call World War II. We have had 47 per cent of all our housing, industries, homes destroyed and devastated.

We have had every family touched with death, and we know what war is, it has made us very sensitive to aggression.

"In our history we have been invaded by the Tartars, by Napoleon, by Hitler, and we have had very much destruction, and forgive me, by the U-2 airplane. A couple of months ago we made a peaceful proposal. What was the proposal? To sign peace treaty with Germany. The people in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Germany are looking for ways to settle their lives and plan for the future. They want a peace treaty. So, we proposed one. What is reaction of Western powers? Hostility! Building up mobilizations, building up arms! You have frightened the world. You may be fooling your own people, but we know that you have been testing in Sahara Desert with French NATO allies nuclear devices. So, when you frightened us like this we saw the fact that we must develop ourselves the tools of defense of peace. We resumed with great heartaches with testing, and we resumed with great heartaches also to show any would-be aggressor that Socialism could put down aggression in any part of the world.

"You have scared us again; when are you Americans going to learn about the Germans? When are you Americans going to wake up politically? You know what you have done? You are rearming the German militarists, and you have scared us very much. We ask you very seriously, why are you making Berlin the center of espionage, center of dirty tricks, center of cold war activity?

Why the Wall Was Built

"Our proposal was this: You were making Berlin point of agitation. People are so excited. You never read in your papers how people go from West Germany to East Germany. But your propaganda has gotten people agitated, confused and moving in both directions in Germany. We said to build a little wall to have peaceful time for negotiation, to stop all of this movement and war psychology. Then free Berlin with



"Americans are waking up to a vital fact that we personally have an international dimension for modern American citizenship."



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peace treaty and put down the wall and begin to build again for peaceful coexistence. Here is a woman back here with question."

QUESTION: Remember, Napoleon said, "Don't awaken the sleeping dragon."

ANSWER: "This woman using very colorful quotation of Napoleon, 'Don't awaken the sleeping dragon.' There is a great deal of wishful thinking in your country about this. If you wish wishful thinking, this is your privilege. I will tell you very frankly this so-called animosity of competition between China and Soviet Union is not what you think. Our basic faith is this: Every nation has its own road to Socialism. The Chinese go down one road, they have one tradition, one culture; the Soviet Union goes down one, Great Britain goes down one road, the United States goes down one road. We have confidence you will reach Socialism one day. Don't be afraid. You will live better than you do today. We acknowledge you are number one technological nation in the world. You have the highest standard of living now, but we have slogan in Soviet Union, 'Catch up and surpass United States technologically.'

"Unfortunately, you are politically underdeveloped, but you are catching up a little bit. We have faith that if the state monopolists do not precipitate a war, you, too, will choose Socialism as a means for the future. There are different roads, so, there naturally will be some substitutions, but we are very proud of what our Socialist brothers in China are doing, and we are helping them in every way, so we don't feel that we have bitten off more than we can chew. This is the beginning of a great Commonwealth of Socialist Communist Countries."

QUESTION: If the Soviet is such a democratic nation as to classes of society, why do certain members of the Soviet scientific hierarchy, members of the National Academy, seem to enjoy a higher standard of living, and why do these scientists explain that they are not politicians, that they cannot explain about politics and answer political questions.

Why Wage Differences In Russia

ANSWER: "Well, you know this is a question I often get. If we are such democratic society, such a classless society, how come people have higher standard of living in scientific academy. Many people say to me, 'Surov, you look like Capitalist.' I have coat on here I bought in Washington in high-class store. When I first came to your country I wore Soviet clothes; people laughed at me. So, okay, I wear your clothes, and the material is not bad. It is all right.

"But the question is this: I get higher pay than man working in factory in Moscow. Today Soviet

Union is in the Socialist stage of society. In the Socialist stage man contributes according to his talents and his abilities and is rewarded according to his contribution to uplift of society. They feel my work to promote peace between our two great nations is more important than man on factory bench. So, I get higher pay and more facilities, more allowances. I am not exploiting anybody.

"At the Communist stage when we do have society of abundance, then we will have people having all their needs. But, of course, our great plea to you is, let's have universal world disarmament so we can lift the fantastic burden off the shoulders of people. Don't worry, you can get business from other sources, and we can move ahead on the uplift of the people on the standard of living.

Why 14 Pairs of Shoes?

"Your Vice President Nixon, who is political refugee from Washington, visited your exhibition in Moscow in 1959, and he was quoted as saying to the Russian people - 'An average American family buys 14 pairs of shoes, each family every year.' Our first reaction is, Why? Is the quality so bad? But basically we don't need so many pairs of shoes. In building Socialism for collective uplift we are doing without luxuries, because this is part of our whole Socialist pattern, to deny ourselves these luxuries in building for uplift of the whole world, and we don't very often have all of these things.

"We give higher pay to our teachers, higher pay to our scientists, higher pay to many of our technicians. If you would read a little bit more, I would like to urge you to read USSR on your newsstands.

(At this point Mr. Vetter dropped his role as Surov and continued.)

How Communists Answer Questions

MR. VETTER: I think you see the purpose here. I think one of our great vulnerabilities in this country is that we get an oversimplified idea of what Communism is, and millions of people think, if they could ask them these questions on persecution of religion, on the questions you brought up, that you could just clobber a Communist, but these people do their homework. Now, you noticed the devices I used. I took your question and I either answered it or slipped off of it and used the question as a platform for my Communist pitch, for a propaganda platform. They do this time and time again.

Also, another thing that I was doing and why it is very hard to pin me down is that, I exploit audience courtesy. They will do this time and time again. And most of the people here would not come back and hit me again and again. You were starting to do it, but, they would not come back again and again with the questions. Frankly, you haven't done your homework. The facts on why Soviet agriculture has failed are some of the most dramatic facts in the world. The facts of American agriculture, one of the greatest human miracles in our history of the world, was the fact that once free men understood the problems of

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agriculture in World War II, the Communist production of this nation was doubled in four years. This is a real miracle and a real tribute to the ingenuity of free men once they see the problem.

Homework Must Be Done

I know my best advice in talking to the Communist is to do their gobbledegook better than they know how, and having the direct experience and indirect experience in Communist countries to show how their theory and their actions don't match and their promises and their actions don't match, but to do this you have got to do homework.

Just What Is Freedom?

I think we have another problem, and this is one of our problems even in our own education system. In talking about this competition between freedom and Communism we often are not explicit about what freedom is. Very frequently in many countries freedom is not a good word, because to many freedom and liberty means insecurity, and they are looking for security first. So, when we talk about freedom often we project it like the teenager concept of freedom: "Get mama off my back, get papa off my back get my teacher off my back, and life will be a ball!" The Indians said, "Drive the British out of here, and the standard of living will take off like a bird." The British, left and the standard of living went down, because just as when children leave home their standard of living goes down, until they develop the experience and skills of self-government and self-preservation, and then it begins to come up.

I would like to use something that might be useful to you, the comparison to get a positive concept of freedom which is a concept that we can compete from. There is the example of the tennis court. You can be free to go out on the tennis court and make a fool of yourself. That is freedom from restriction. You can go out and hurt your body and waste time, but you are only free on the tennis court when you have invested time, when you have invested energy, when you have invested money and have good equipment, when you have developed discipline, made mistakes and developed judgment, when you develop the skill and know the rules. In short, only when you know how to play tennis are you really free on the courts.

We Must Get Down to Human Problems

It is the same in business, it is the same in education, it is the same in modern marriage, it is the same in democracy, and in our projection of democracy we have got to get over these barriers of semantics, barriers of language, and get down to human problems.

Like "homely", words in this country often have a different ring and meaning in other countries. Words like freedom, democracy, Socialism, and mother love often bring up quite different images and reactions than they do here. This is all the more reason why we must define our terms specifically in terms of people, institutions, solutions, attitudes—and it is here that free society gives the keys to productivity.

Getting sophisticated in these terms is a very important groundwork to getting our alternative across. Now, my personal conviction is this: That the alternative to dictatorship, to central government, to central planning, is teamwork and voluntary cooperation. There is something about teamwork, you don't have to like a person to play on the team with him, but you have got to talk to him. You have got to have a basic respect for him. If I were a Communist agent, I would put my most skillful agents in the most conservative American organizations and in the most radical American organizations and start those organizations fighting each other from within the organizations to break down trust, to create hate, to create disorganization, chaos, these kind of things which cut down the productivity of a free world society.

American Citizenship Has International Dimension

This is why these meetings are so important to you as an industry, and this is why there has got to be much greater circulation between management and labor, between the majority and minority groups, and between public and government, because this is the fabric of productivity of a free society.

The thing that makes me extremely optimistic is that as I go around the United States, and I have done a lot of traveling, I begin to see that Americans are waking up to a vital fact that we personally have an international dimension for modern American citizenship. It has challenges and opportunities, it has also got problems, but it is only when free men understand the problems that they can concentrate on the tremendous resources of their individual experience, their problem-solving ability and knowledge. It is good that we are beginning to see in organizations like this the kind of things you are doing to increase international communication individually and within your organization.

Self-Confidence Vital to Success

As a free society begins to wake up, it is fantastic the kinds of things it can produce. We have got to have confidence that we have made human progress and have something to offer the world. Without self-confidence and self-knowledge how are we going to get people to have confidence in us? It points to two crucial areas, knowing the opposition realistically so our people are alert, are not scared and alarmed, of knowing ourselves realistically and then working on the communication techniques in our education and organizational lives that will help us transmit our alternatives in other people's terms.

To win the battle for competition for people's minds and hopes we have to use our heads, and that is good. I am beginning to see as I travel around this society and the Free World that people are beginning to use not only their heads but their hearts, their religions, their morality, their experience and their love. They are beginning to develop really meaningful alternatives in this level of our competition. Thank you very much.



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